

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the writer presents the findings to answer the research problems and elaborate the result of the study in the discussion.

4.1 Findings

In this sub chapter, the writer first analyzes the kinship terms of Generation Z and Generation X of Chinese-Indonesians in Mojokerto. In the data analysis as mention in Chapter III, the writer displays the finding of kinship terms in a table. The writer uses initial for the subjects of Generation X whereas DK as subject one, IS as subject two and SK as subject three. Moreover, the initials for the subjects of Generation Z are AG as subject one, WP as subject two, and FF as subject three. The writer chooses those initials by picking the first letter of the subject's first and last name in order to understand which subject the writer elaborates in the data findings.

The writer only filled the tables with the kinship terms that the subjects used to address their family. Therefore, in advance the writer would like to inform that there are some kinship terms were filled with a symbol (-) whereas the subject did not have the specific member of family. Further information about the subjects are going to be discussed in sub chapter Discussion.

4.1.1 The Kinship Terms of Generation X of Chinese-Indonesians

The kinship terms used by Generation X of Chinese-Indonesians consist of three parts, that is, the kinship terms used in within family, paternal line, and maternal line.

4.1.1.1 The Kinship Terms of Generation X of Chinese-Indonesians within Family

Within family or nuclear family is formed on the basis of marital ties between husband and wife. It is the basic unit of mother, father and dependent children (Haviland, 1975). Here, the writer finds the kinship terms of Generation X used within family as indicated in the following table.

Table 4.1 The kinship terms of Generation X of Chinese-Indonesians within family (nuclear family)

Kinship Terms	Subjects		
	I (DK)	II (IS)	III (SK)
Fa	Papa /'pa-pa/	Papa /'pa-pa/	Papa /'pa-pa/
Mo	Mama /'ma-ma/	Mama /'ma-ma/	Mama /'ma-ma/
OBr	-	Koko /'kò-kò/	-
YBr	-	-	First name
OBrWi	-	Sau-sau /'saó-saó/	-
YBrWi	-	-	First name
OSi	-	-	-
YSi	First name	Meme /'me-me/	First name
OSiHu	-	-	-
YSiHu	First name	First name	First name

Note: Fa (father), Mo (mother), Br (brother), Si (sister), Hu (husband), Wi (wife), O (older), Y (younger)

- Koko /'kò-kò/ Koko refers to elder brother. This term is a Mandarin kinship term and the original term is Gege /'gēge/.

- Sau-sau /'saó-saó/ IS address her elder brother's wife with by using Sau-sau. However, according to Amoy English Dictionary the term is in fact 'a-so' /a-'só/. This term belongs to Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship term for addressing elder brother's wife.
- Meme /'me-me/ Meme refers to younger sister. This term is a Mandarin kinship term and the original term is Meimei /'mèi-mei/.

4.1.1.2 The Kinship Terms of Generation X of Chinese-Indonesians Paternal Line

In extended family or unilineal descent, family can be traced by assigning one individual in a specific descent group which may trace descent either patrilineally, through male line, or matrilineally, through female line (Haviland, 1975). Here, the writer finds the kinship terms of Generation X used in their paternal line as indicated in the following table.

Table 4.2 The kinship terms of Generation X of Chinese-Indonesians paternal line

Kinship Terms	Subjects		
	I (DK)	II (IS)	III (SK)
FaFa	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/
FaMo	Emak /ə 'mak/	Emak /ə 'mak/	Emak /ə 'mak/
FaOBr	-	Empek /əm 'pék/	-
FaYBr	Encek /ən 'cék/	Encek /ən 'cék/	-
FaOSi	-	-	-
FaYSi	-	-	Ko /'kò/
FaOBrWi	-	Tua-ik /'twa-ik/	-
FaYBrWi	Tante /'tāntə/	Encim /ən 'cim/	-
FaOSiHu	-	-	-

Table continued...

Kinship Terms	Subjects		
	I (DK)	II (IS)	III (SK)
FaYSiHu	-	-	Om /ōm/
FaOBrSo	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name
FaYBrSo			
FaOSiSo			
FaYSiSo			
FaOBrDa	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name
FaYBrDa			
FaOSiDa			
FaYSiDa			

Note: Fa (father), Mo (mother), Br (brother), Si (sister), Hu (husband),
Wi (wife), So (son), Da (daughter), O (older), Y (younger)

- Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/ Engkong refers to Grandfather. The original Mandarin kinship term for Grandfather is Waigong /'wàigōng/. However, there are another term to address Grandfather in Mandarin and that is Lao ye /'lǎoye/. In Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms, Grandfather are address with A kong /'a-koŋ/.
- Emak /ə 'mak/ Emak refers to Grandmother. In Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms, the original term of Emak is A ma /'a-ma/.
- Empek /əm 'pék/ Empek refers to Uncle who is father's elder brother. The original term is A-peh /'a-peh/ in Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms.
- Encek /ən 'cék/ Encek also refers to Uncle. However, this term is used to address father's younger brother.
- Ko /'kò/ Ko refers to Aunt. This term is used to address both father's elder sister and younger sister. In Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms, Aunt are address with A ko /a-'kò/.

- Tua-ik /'twa-ik/ IS used Tua-ik to address her father's elder brother's wife. This term Tua may come from the term Toa as in Toa-chi where as in Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms Toa-chi is used to address elder sister. The original pronunciation of 'ik' is 'yi' as in A-yi whereas in Mandarin kinship terms A-yi is used to address an aunt that is not related by blood. Tua-ik may have been a combination of those two Kinship terms whereas the position of the family, Tua-ik is IS's aunt and the wife of her father's elder brother.
- Encim /ən 'cim/ Encim is used to address father's younger brother's wife. The term 'cim' may have been from Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship term Kim-a, a term to address younger brother's wife.
- Cece /'cé-cé/ Cece refers to elder sister. Cece is a Mandarin kinship term whereas the original term is Jie-jie /'jiě-jie/.
- Tante /'täntə/ Tante refers to Aunt. This term is a Dutch kinship term to address aunt.
- Om /ōm/ Om refers to Uncle. This term is also a Dutch kinship term which is Oom to address an uncle.

4.1.1.3 The Kinship Terms of Generation X of Chinese-Indonesians Maternal Line

In extended family or unilineal descent, family can be traced by assigning one individual in a specific descent group which may trace descent either patrilineally, through male line, or matrilineally, through female line (Haviland,

1975). Here, the writer finds the kinship terms of Generation X used in maternal line as indicated in the following table.

Table 4.3 The kinship terms of Generation X of Chinese-Indonesians maternal line

Kinship Terms	Subjects		
	I (DK)	II (IS)	III (SK)
MoFa	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/	Mbah /'mbah/
MoMo	Emak /ə 'mak/	Emak /ə 'mak/	Mbah /'mbah/
MoOBr	Engku /əŋ 'ku/	-	Pak Dhe /'pak-dé/
MoYBr	Engku /əŋ 'ku/	Engku /əŋ 'ku/	Lek /'lék/
MoOSi	-	Ik /ik/	-
MoYSi	Ik /ik/	-	Lek /'lék/
MoOBrWi	Engkim /əŋ 'kim/	-	Budhe /'bu-dé/
MoYBrWi	Engkim /əŋ 'kim/	Encim /ən 'cim/	Lek /'lék/
MoOSiHu	-	Engku /əŋ 'ku/	-
MoYSiHu	Om /ōm/	-	Mas /'mas/
MoOBrSo	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name	First name
MoYBrSo			First name
MoOSiSo			First name
MoYSiSo			First name
MoOBrDa	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name	First name
MoYBrDa			First name
MoOSiDa			First name
MoYSiDa			First name

Note: Fa (father), Mo (mother), Br (brother), Si (sister), Hu (husband),
Wi (wife), So (son), Da (daughter), O (older), Y (younger)

- Engku /əŋ 'ku/ Engku refers to Uncle. This term refers to both mother's elder brother and younger brother. This term is also used to address an Uncle who is not related by blood. It is quite different with addressing an uncle from paternal line where elder and younger brother have their own term.

- Ik /ik/ Ik refers to Aunt. The original pronunciation of 'ik' is 'yi' as in A-yi whereas in Mandarin kinship terms A-yi is used to address an aunt that is not related by blood. However, in this case both DK and IS address their aunt with Ik which the writer will elaborate more in sub chapter Discussion.
- Engkim and Encim Both Engkim /əŋ 'kim/ and Encim /ən 'cim/ refer to mother's elder brother's wife and younger brother's wife.
- Mbah /'mbah/ Mbah refers to Grandfather and Grandmother. It is a Javanese kinship term.
- Pak Dhe /'pak-dé/ Pak Dhe refers to Uncle who is mother's elder brother. It is a Javanese kinship term.
- Budhe /'bu-dé/ Budhe refers to Aunt who is mother's elder sister. It is a Javanese kinship term.
- Lek /'lék/ Lek refers to both uncle and aunt who is mother's younger siblings. If in Javanese kinship term Pak Dhe is used to address mother's elder brother, Pak Lek is used to address mother's younger brother. Same as Budhe, Bulek is used to address mother's younger sister. In this case SK removed Pak and Bu to address her uncle and aunt with just simply calling them with Lek.
- Mas /'mas/ Mas can refer to any male role in someone's family. This is a Javanese address term rather than a kinship term. However, in kinship term Mas is used to address someone who is a male and older than

us. It can be referred as big brother. This term can be used to address someone who is related blood or not.

4.1.2 The Kinship Terms of Generation Z of Chinese-Indonesians

The kinship terms used by Generation Z of Chinese-Indonesians consist of three parts, that is, the kinship terms used in within family, paternal line, and maternal line.

4.1.2.1 The Kinship Terms of Generation Z of Chinese-Indonesians within Family

Within family or nuclear family is formed on the basis of marital ties between husband and wife. It is the basic unit of mother, father and dependent children (Haviland, 1975). Here, the writer finds the kinship terms of Generation Z used within family as indicated in the following table.

Table 4.4 The kinship terms of Generation Z of Chinese-Indonesians within family (nuclear family)

Kinship Terms	Subjects		
	I (AG)	II (WP)	III (FF)
Fa	Papa /'pa-pa/	Papa /'pa-pa/	Papa /'pa-pa/
Mo	Mama /'ma-ma/	Mama /'ma-ma/	Mama /'ma-ma/
OBr	Koko /'kò-kò/	Koko /'kò-kò/	Koko /'kò-kò/
YBr	First name	Sinyo /'si.nyò/	Titi /'ti-ti/
OBrWi	-	Cece /'cé-cé/	Sau-sau /'saó-saó/
YBrWi	-	First name	-
OSi	Cece /'cé-cé/	Cece /'cé-cé/	Cece /'cé-cé/
YSi	Nonik /'no-nik/	First name	Meme /'me-me/
OSiHu	-	Koko /'kò-kò/	-
YSiHu	-	First name	-

Note: Fa (father), Mo (mother), Br (brother), Si (sister),
Hu (husband), Wi (wife), O (older), Y (younger)

- Sinyo /*si.nyò*/ Sinyo refers to younger brother. This term is not essentially a kinship term. According to KBBI, Sinyo is a European term for a boy who is not married. However, in this case WP used the term to address her younger brother.
- Titi /*ti-ti*/ Titi also refers to younger brother. It is a Mandarin kinship term whereas the original term is Didi /*dì-di*/.
- Nonik /*no-nik*/ Nonik refers to younger sister. Same as Sinyo, Nonik is not really a kinship term. According to KBBI, the original term is Noni /*no-ni*/ means little girl (nona kecil). However, in this case AG used the term to address his younger sister.

4.1.2.2 The Kinship Terms of Generation Z of Chinese-Indonesians Paternal Line

In extended family or unilineal descent, family can be traced by assigning one individual in a specific descent group which may trace descent either patrilineally, through male line, or matrilineally, through female line (Haviland, 1975). Here, the writer finds the kinship terms of Generation X used in their paternal line as indicated in the following table.

Table 4.5 The kinship terms of Generation Z of Chinese-Indonesians paternal line

Kinship Terms	Subjects		
	I (AG)	II (WP)	III (FF)
FaFa	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/
FaMo	Emak /ə 'mak/	Mak /ə 'mak/	Emak /ə 'mak/
FaOBr	Empek /əm 'pék/	Empek /əm 'pék/	Empek /əm 'pék/

Table continued...

Kinship Terms	Subjects		
	I (AG)	II (WP)	III (FF)
FaYBr	-	Encek /ən 'cék/	Encek /ən 'cék/
FaOSi	Wak /'wak/	Taku & Olku*	Kuku /'ku-ku/
FaYSi	-	Shoku /'shò-ku/	Kuku /'ku-ku/
FaOBrWi	Wak /'wak/	Wak /'wak/	-
FaYBrWi	-	Cim /'cim/	-
FaOSiHu	Empek /əm 'pék/	-	Ku cang /'ku-caŋ/
FaYSiHu	-	Shoku cang /'shò-ku caŋ/	-
FaOBrSo	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name
FaYBrSo			
FaOSiSo			
FaYSiSo			
FaOBrDa	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name
FaYBrDa			
FaOSiDa			
FaYSiDa			

Note: Fa (father), Mo (mother), Br (brother), Si (sister), Hu (husband),
Wi (wife), So (son), Da (daughter), O (older), Y (younger)

- Wak /'wak/ AG refers Wak to Aunt who is father's elder sister and his father's elder brother's wife.
- Taku, Olku & Shoku In this situation, WP has three aunts in which the two of them are her father's elder sisters. WP addresses the oldest aunt with Taku /'ta-ku/, the second oldest with Olku /òl-'ku/ and the youngest with Shoku /'shò-ku/. In Hakka kinship term, the original term of Taku is Tagu /'ta-gu/ which refers to father's elder sister. Also the original term of Olku is A-gu /a-'gu/ which refers to father's younger sister.
- Kuku /'ku-ku/ Kuku refers to aunt. Instead of using Tagu or A-gu like WP to distinguish which aunt, FF used kuku to address both her father's elder sister and younger sister.

- Cim /'cim/ Cim as in Encim is used to address father's younger brother's wife. The term 'cim' may have been from Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship term Kim-a, a term to address younger brother's wife.
- Ku cang, Shoku cang both refers to Uncle who is father's sister's husband. Cang /'can/ indicates that both are related by marriage.

4.1.2.3 The Kinship Terms of Generation Z of Chinese-Indonesians Maternal Line

In extended family or unilineal descent, family can be traced by assigning one individual in a specific descent group which may trace descent either patrilineally, through male line, or matrilineally, through female line (Haviland, 1975). Here, the writer finds the kinship terms of Generation X used in their paternal line as indicated in the following table.

Table 4.6 The kinship terms of Generation Z of Chinese-Indonesians maternal line

Kinship Terms	Subjects		
	I (AG)	II (WP)	III (FF)
MoFa	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/	Mbah /'mbah/	Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/
MoMo	Emak /ə 'mak/	Mak /'mak/	Emak /ə 'mak/
MoOBr	-	-	Engku /əŋ 'ku/
MoYBr	Om /ōm/	Mas /'mas/	-
MoOSi	-	Budhe /'bu-dé/	A yi /a-yi/
MoYSi	-	Mbak /'mbak/	lik /i 'ik/
MoOBrWi	-	-	Engkim /əŋ 'kim/
MoYBrWi	Tante /'täntə/	-	-
MoOSiHu	-	Bapak /'ba-pak/	Entiu /əŋ 'tiu/
MoYSiHu	-	Om /ōm/	Entiu /əŋ 'tiu/
MoOBrSo	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name	-	Koko /'kò-kò/or first name
MoYBrSo		-	
MoOSiSo		Mas /'mas/ or	
MoYSiSo		first name	

Table continued...

Kinship Terms	Subjects		
	I (AG)	II (WP)	III (FF)
MoOBrDa	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name	-	Cece /'cé-cé/ or first name
MoYBrDa		-	
MoOSiDa		Mbak /'mbak/ or first name	
MoYSiDa			

Note: Fa (father), Mo (mother), Br (brother), Si (sister), Hu (husband),
Wi (wife), So (son), Da (daughter), O (older), Y (younger)

- A yi /a-yi/ A yi refers to Aunt. This term is a Mandarin kinship term.
- Iik /i 'ik/ Ik and Iik are the same. Both came from 'yi' in A yi which is a Mandarin kinship term.
- Entiu /əŋ 'tiu/ Entiu refers to mother's sister's husband. In Hokkien kinship term, the term is I-tiu /'i-tiu/. Same as Cang, Tiu indicated that the relationship build by marriage. The difference is that Cang is a Mandarin kinship term while Tiu is a Hokkien kinship term.

4.1.3 The Kinship Terms of Generation X and Generation Z

As the writer presents the kinship terms used by the two-generation above, the writer now would like to presents the pattern between the kinship terms that both cohorts used. The writer found some pattern between the kinship terms of the two-generation. After presenting the pattern, the writer elaborates more about the similarity and dissimilarity about the kinship terms of the two-generation. The first pattern would be from the kinship terms within family.

Table continued...

Kinship Term	Generation X			Generation Z		
	DK	IS	SK	AG	WP	FF
FaOBrDa	Cece / first name			Cece / first name		
FaYBrDa						
FaOSiDa						
FaYSiDa						

Note: Fa (father), Mo (mother), Br (brother), Si (sister), Hu (husband),
Wi (wife), So (son), Da (daughter), O (older), Y (younger)

In paternal line, both cohorts address some of their father side of family with the same kinship terms. From the table, it can also be seen that they are many members of family both cohorts address differently. Moving on to the third pattern is from the kinship terms of maternal line.

Table 4.9 The kinship term pattern in maternal line

Kinship Term	Generation X			Generation Z		
	DK	IS	SK	AG	WP	FF
MoFa	Engkong	Engkong	Mbah	Engkong	Mbah	Engkong
MoMo	Emak	Emak	Mbah	Emak	Mak	Emak
MoOBr	Engku	-	Pak Dhe	-	-	Engku
MoYBr	Engku	Engku	Lek	Om	Mas	-
MoOSi	-	Ik	-	-	Budhe	A yi
MoYSi	Ik	-	Lek	-	Mbak	Iik
MoOBrWi	Engkim	-	Budhe	-	-	Engkim
MoYBrWi	Engkim	Encim	Lek	Tante	-	-
MoOSiHu	-	Engku	-	-	Bapak	Entiu
MoYSiHu	Om	-	Mas	-	Om	Entiu
MoOBrSo	Koko / first name		Mas / first name	Koko / first name	Mas / first name	Koko / first name
MoYBrSo						
MoOSiSo						
MoYSiSo						
MoOBrDa	Cece / first name		Mbak / first name	Cece / first name	Mbak / first name	Cece / first name
MoYBrDa						
MoOSiDa						
MoYSiDa						

Note: Fa (father), Mo (mother), Br (brother), Si (sister), Hu (husband),
Wi (wife), So (son), Da (daughter), O (older), Y (younger)

In maternal line, both cohorts address some of their mother side of family with the same kinship terms. From the table, it can also be seen that they are many members of family both cohorts address differently. Especially, SK and WP whereas they used Javanese kinship terms. As all the table presented, first the writer would like presents the complete table of the kinship terms used by the two-generation and then analyze the pattern of the kinship terms. The table below is a collection of kinship term that both cohorts similarly used to address the specific member of the family.

Table 4.10 Kinship term the two-generation use

Kinship term the two-generation use	
Father	Papa
Mother	Mama
Elder brother	Koko
Elder brother's wife	Sau-sau
Elder sister	Cece
Younger sister	Meme
Grandfather	Engkong
Grandmother	Emak
Father's elder brother	Empek
Father's younger brother	Encek
Father's younger brother's wife	Encim
Mother's elder brother	Engku
Mother's younger sister	Iik
Mother's elder brother's wife	Engkim

Now, as the writer analyzes the pattern, the writer found that the system of kinship terms used by two-generation cohorts are a lot similar to each other. The first similarity the writer would like to discuss is that both cohorts did not used a whole specific kind of kinship term. Both seems to combined some terms from

Mandarin kinship terms, Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms and Dutch kinship terms into their repertoire. For example:

- Both Gen-X and Gen-Z used Papa /'pa-pa/ and Mama /'ma-ma/ to address their father and mother. Papa and Mama are both common terms in Indonesia to address father and mother despite that is not essentially an Indonesian kinship term and the terms are actually come from Dutch kinship terms. They also used Om /ōm/ and Tante /'täntə/ to address uncle and aunt. Many Indonesian were influenced by Dutch especially because Indonesia was once colonized by the Dutch.
- Both Gen-X and Gen-Z used Koko /'kò-kò/ to address an elder brother. Koko in their kinship terms can be refer to a sibling or a cousin who is a male and older than the subjects. The term is a Mandarin kinship term where the original pronunciation is Gege /'gēge/. They also used Cece /'cé-cé/ to address an elder sister. In the same way with Koko, in their kinship system Cece can be used to address a sibling or a cousin who is a female and older than the subjects. The term is also a Mandarin kinship term where the original pronunciation is Jie-jie /'jiě-jie/. Not only Koko and Cece, both seems to use some Mandarin kinship terms like Meme /'me-me/, Titi /'ti-ti/ and A yi /a-yi/.
- Both Gen-X and Gen-Z used Engkong /əŋ 'koŋ/ to address grandfather. By Amoy English Dictionary the term is in fact A kong /'a-koŋ/ in Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms grandfather are address with. The writer found many of Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms in both generation like Sau-sau

/saó-saó/, Emak /ə 'mak/, Empek /əm 'pék/, Encek /ən 'cék/, Encim /ən 'cim/, Entiu /əŋ 'tiu/ and others. However, the writer also found that all of them is not purely a Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship term. They are a deviation term from Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms.

The second similarity the writer would like to discuss in both cohorts is how they address their cousin. Both cohorts use *Koko* to address male cousin who is older than them and if their cousin is younger, they address by their first name instead of using a specific term like *Titi*. This also happened if their female cousin is older than them, they address her with *Cece* and if she is younger, they rather address her with her first name instead of using *Meme*. This case is also happened if their cousin happened to be the same age as them.

The third similarity the writer would like to discuss in both cohorts is the use of their kinship system to address a specific member of family. The writer found that both Gen-X and Gen-Z did not have a different meaning and definition of use with their kinship terms. This result came up because as the writer interviewed the subjects, both Gen-X and Gen-Z stated that they are taught by their parents to address their member of family. The similarity is positively anticipated because Gen-Z's parents are in fact belong to Generation X as the writer used that characteristic to find a subject. Hence, they will share the same kinship system. However, Generation X is not merely learn to address their family by themselves as they are also taught by their parents. As discovered above that most of their kinship terms did not belong to a specific kind of kinship term proved that the deviation of the kinship terms happened in their previous

generation. Despite having a Chinese inheritance background, both generation as Chinese-Indonesian unfortunately did not have a specific type of kinship term as their kinship terms are a combination of different kinds of kinship term.

As the writer conduct a research in Mojokerto which the city was located in East Java, therefore the writer's subjects are indeed speak Javanese. However, though all of the subjects can speak Javanese not all of the subjects used Javanese in their kinship terms. Thus the writer found the first dissimilarity between the two-generation.

The dissimilarity is that not all of the subjects use Javanese kinship terms. In the writer's data, the writer found only two subjects used Javanese kinship terms, SK from Gen-X and WP from Gen-Z. Both SK and WP use Javanese kinship terms in their kinship repertoire. However, the similarity is that both of them use Javanese kinship terms when they are addressing their mother side of family. This was because both of them come from a mix-marriage between Chinese and Javanese. Another similarity found is that SK and WP also share the same definition of use with their Javanese kinship terms. For example:

- Both SK and WP use Mbah /'mbah/ to address their grandfather. Though SK uses Mbah not only to address her grandfather but also a grandmother.
- Both SK and WP use Budhe /'bu-dé/ to address aunt who is older than their mother.
- Both SK and WP use Mas to address someone in the family who is male and older than they are.

- Both SK and WP also use first name to address their cousin if their cousin are younger than them. In the table, SK only uses first name to address her cousins as she stated that all of her cousins are younger than her. As for WP, she addresses her elder cousin Mas if it's male, Mbak if it's female and first name if it's younger than her rather than addresses them with Adek which is a Javanese kinship term to address younger sibling.

As for SK and WP, their kinship terms were influence of their family background therefore they can use at least two different kinds of kinship system. Though both of their background culture are equally strong unfortunately it does not make an impact on how they should put an effort to know the correct term to address both side of the family. This thought also occurred to other subjects. As a Chinese who was born and raised in Indonesia the two-generation cohorts could not avoid that their culture were influenced by the existed culture in their society. The influence were unintentionally affected most of their Chinese identity. To propose this idea, the writer prepared some questions to understand better about the subjects' point of view regarding their kinship terms. Furthermore the writer would like to discuss it in the sub chapter Discussion.

4.2 Discussion

In this sub chapter, the writer would like to elaborate about the system of kinship terms between two-generation cohorts. As mention before, the writer prepare some questions that was designed to help the writer understands better precision of her subjects. Since this research covers a generational study, the writer takes both statement from the two-generation cohorts into consideration to

achieve the writer's goal. As it was mentioned before, both cohorts stated that they were taught on how to address their family by their parents. The answer was anticipated since Chinese family value the close family relationship. This in line with the writer's previous studies as Huang & Jia (2000) stated in their paper that the development of the system of Chinese kinship terms is, first and foremost, influenced by the family-centered economy in Chinese tradition. Chinese family in many cases constitutes a large family and prefer living together. This idealism came from China's philosopher Confucius when he educated his people not to study or work far away from home while their parents were still alive.

The idealism has since become one of the traditions of Chinese culture. It then leads to how inside their big family, members are labeled with specific kinship terms according to their age, generation, sex, and other factors such as marriage. Hence they can never get confused about their relations with other members. Huang & Jia (2000) added that since Chinese people prefer living with or near each other, they encounter each other frequently on daily routine and therefore it is convenient for them to keep those precise kinship terms in order to recognize each member of the family better. They value the system of respect in which it is an unspoken rule that the younger must respect the older generation. That can be said that Chinese family is a hierarchical institution and their kinship terms represent authority and superiority for them. The writer then propose this cultural connotation and question her subjects about their knowledge regarding their kinship terms and how they associated with their Chinese background that may have a similar ideal as their ancestor. The first question the writer asks cover

whether it is important or not to preserve the Chinese kinship terms in their family and required their children to follow the tradition moreover the reason why they think it is important to do so. There are other questions which the reader can see in Appendices, though every question is mention below as the writer will elaborate them along with the subjects' statement. Before that the writer would like to inform that the subjects' statements will be in form of an English sentence as the writer translated them from Indonesian.

From Gen-X cohorts, DK and IS stated that it is important to continue using the kinship terms their parents taught them. DK added *"My parents taught me the terms and they required me to address my family with that terms. It applied also to my children. It's an obligation."* (The writer's translation from Indonesian). IS' opinion was not far from DK, though she added *"It is important to keep the tradition alive"*. SK on the other hand stated it is not necessary. She also added *"Time is different now, the era is moving. There are many descendants in my family and calling them with Chinese kinship terms would be complicated"*. The three subjects have strong opinion of their own which then lead to the writer's curiosity that if Gen-X is involved as Gen-Z's parents, Gen-Z will have the same statement. Therefore to answer this curiosity, the writer ask the same question to Gen-Z cohorts. AG stated that *"Of course it is important and I will required my children to continue using them"*. Along with the answer, the writer added a question the reason why is it important and AG jokingly said *"In order to show that we are Chinese."* Although he then seriously answer *"I think it's a regulation. Like it's a rule from Chinese tradition I must follow"*. Beside AG, FF has the same

opinion as him where she also jokingly said *“In order to show that we are Chinese.”* Then again before she said the joke, she stated almost the same as SK from Gen-X *“My parents taught me but I always had trouble learning it because there’s a lot of them and complicated. It is important to continue to use them but I also don’t think that it is an obligation. Though in my family, I use them because my parents told me to and I think it’s only fair that I do that to my children too. I believe that it’s a tradition.”* FF’s opinion seems strong but the last subject from Gen-Z cohorts, WP, seems to think that it is not necessary just like SK she stated that she does not require her children to use them even though her father required her to use the Chinese kinship terms for his side of family and she then stated a reason *“It depends on who am I going to marry. If he has a Chinese background then I think I will teach my children just like my dad taught me. But it’s not necessary as for me personally [jokingly] I want my children to use English address terms like Daddy and Mommy or maybe with Indonesian terms”*.

By looking through both cohorts’ statements, the writer notices that their opinions are not far from each other. They both have the same state of mind regarding the importance of their kinship terms. Although they seem to know much of their Chinese background and tradition, the writer then questions them whether they know or not that the kinship terms they use were not the correct terms of Chinese kinship terms. From Gen-X cohorts, DK and IS solidly answer that they do not know that their kinship terms were not the correct terms of Chinese kinship terms. DK added that *“I just do what my father told me to. I didn’t ask anything about it”*. IS’s statement agrees with DK’s she then added *“My father*

goes to Chinese school back then. So I don't know if the terms were not the correct terms". On the other hand, SK stated *"I know but I didn't think much about it"*. The writer found DK and IS's statement unexpected since the writer assumed that both of their Chineseness is quite thick as they are identified as Chinese *totok*. Nonetheless, Gen-Z cohorts AG and FF stated that they know that the kinship terms they use is not the correct one. Especially FF because she is in fact learned Mandarin and once studied in China for a year. FF stated that *"A lot of people called their elder brother with Koko where in fact the original pronunciation supposed to be Gege"*. When the writer asked FF if she wants to use the correct terms to teach her children, FF answered *"I want to even though I don't know much of it. It's too many of them but I can teach my children slowly"*. AG's statement also agrees with FF *"Yes of course I want to use the real one. Even if I don't know, I'll ask around"*. Unlike AG and FF, WP stated that she does not know whether the kinship terms she used is not the correct terms. In addition, her opinion was still the same as the last time she answered whether she wanted to preserve Chinese kinship terms.

The deviation of the kinship terms may have been a language phenomenon over the years. In 1994, Ngo Siu Jen found many deviation of kinship terms in the first and second generation kinship system of Cuan-Ciu Hokkien Chinese Indonesian in Surabaya. In her research, she found her subject use some of Cuan-Ciu Hokkien and Mandarin kinship terms combined with kinship terms that was not pure Cuan-Ciu Hokkien and Mandarin kinship terms. However, Ngo's subjects were still using most of Cuan-Ciu Hokkien unlike the writer's subjects

where most of them are no longer using the correct term of Cuan-Ciu Hokkien kinship terms. The reason was because the writer found many deviation terms in her data similar with Ngo's data. For example: Sau-sau /'saó-saó/, Emak /ə 'mak/, Empek /əm 'pék/, Encek /ən 'cék/, Encim /ən 'cim/ and others. Ngo mentions that reason this deviation happened is because of by coming from a different ethnic groups, her subjects produce different dialects as her subjects comes from a mix-marriage between Cuan-Ciu Hokkien and non-Cuan-Ciu Hokkien. In addition, a geographical issue could also be the cause of the deviation. This was also the case that the writer assumed to her subjects.

In line with the topic of deviation, the writer also found in her previous study in Astutik (2005) that her subjects who are the third generation of Mei Xien Cantonese Chinese in Surabaya used the deviate terms of Mandarin kinship terms such as Cie-cie /'cie-cie/, Koko /'kò-kò/, Titi /'ti-ti/, Ie ie /'ie ie/, and Sao-sao /'saó-saó/. They also use Papa to address father and Mama to address Mother. Despite of coming from a specific ethnicity of Chinese, Astutik subjects are not that different with other Chinese-Indonesian's subjects that both the writer and Ngo have. However, Astutik stated that even though the third generation use the deviation of Chinese kinship terms, the second generation is on the contrary and still use the Mei Xien Cantonese kinship terms to address their families or relatives. For example, they have different labels in the kinship terms to address family members like they still use 'dang' /'dan/ to refer to their father's brothers children. They also use 'piao' /'piao/ added in their kinship terms to refer to their father's sister's children, mother's brother's and sister's children. Thus Astutik

mentioned that the second generation still follow the old Chinese tradition. The similarity found in both Astutik and the writer's case is that the role of the parents greatly influence the children in using the kinship terms. In Astutik's third generations' subjects, what causes the deviation is leaning on how the combination of the kinship terms happened because the mix-marriage between Mei Xien Cantonese Chinese and non-Mei Xien Cantonese Chinese just as the writer's subjects SK and WP case. The third generations also address one who is younger only by name same as the writer's subjects.

The cultural connotation of Chinese kinship terms as the writer mention before is that family members are labeled with specific kinship terms according to their age, generation, sex, and other factors such as marriage so that they can never get confused about their relations with other members. Therefore it is convenient for them to keep those precise kinship terms in order to recognize each member of the family better. Also they value the system of respect in which it is an unspoken rule that the younger must respect the older generation in other words, a Chinese family is a hierarchical institution and their kinship terms represent authority and superiority for them (Huang & Jia, 2010). Based on this background of knowledge, the writer questioned her subjects if there is a meaning with addressing their members of family with Chinese kinship terms. DK stated that using each specific terms allowed him to know whose side of family member he is addressing. He added "*Like if I wish to address my mother's elder brother, I will call him Engku*". IS and SK just the same as DK, they both stated that by addressing a specific term with Chinese kinship term, someone can recognize

which family they are addressing. Similar case happens with Gen-Z cohorts as FF stated that *“If I didn’t use a Chinese kinship term, I won’t know like what is this person’s relation to my father or my mother. But if I use for example A yi, I know that she is my mother’s sister and when a Chinese person heard me called my aunt like that they will automatically know if that person is my aunt which is my mother’s sister”*. Other Gen-Z’s AG and WP both jokingly said that by using Chinese kinship terms, people will identify them as Chinese. Although WP added *“My dad has three sisters and I addressed them differently. Taku for the oldest, Olku for the second oldest and Shoku for the youngest. With that term I can know which aunt they are”*.

Some cultural connotation may be still found in the two-generation cohorts although some was no longer found for example addressing member of the family according to generation and the convenience to keep the precise kinship terms in order to recognize each member of the family better. As mention above, from both cohorts most all of them agrees that Chinese kinship terms has a large number of kinship terms. They also agree that it is too many of them and makes them very complicated and confusing to use. By their statements the writer believe that the large number of kinship terms might be one of the reason of many deviation of kinship terms that her subjects use today. The deviation terms they use today are widely used by other Chinese-Indonesian in Mojokerto. When the writer asks the two-generation cohorts, all of them agree that many of Chinese in Mojokerto still continue using the same kinship terms as them. Gen-X’s DK then give his opinion saying *“It might also be because of the parent’s education. My parent’s educate*

me on how to use those terms but some of my kinship terms is a little different than my wife. So it depends on the parents". The writer agrees with DK's opinion as she shares the same opinion whereas parents are the first people to give an input as a baby is born in a society. The writer also shares the same opinion as SK stated that "the era is moving". In Chapter I the writer mention that globalization influences language development in which it can also be a part of the reasons the deviation of kinship terms happens today.

There is one reason the writer might assumed that it is the cause of the deviation of Chinese kinship terms. As the writer mention how she categorized Gen-X as a generation where Chinese-Indonesians were banned to practice their Chineseness in Suharto Era, this historical background could also play a part as the cause. Therefore, the writer questioned Gen-X about how was being a Chinese-Indonesian back then and how the situation was where they learn and practice to address their family with Chinese kinship terms. DK stated "*Back then Chinese school were banned so I picked up Mandarin a little from my parents because they sometimes talk Mandarin. Everything I learn about my Chineseness stayed in the family. That goes with how to address my family, I didn't use any Chinese address terms outside my family. It's different from family to family*". IS statement was "*I think that Chinese ban doesn't have any impact on me. Because I learn and practice my Chineseness inside my family so there's no change in my daily life*". However, SK's situation was different "*I didn't have a Chinese name because my father didn't want to make my life complicated. And there was a time where I have to address my family quietly*". From the three statements, the writer

discovers that their situation is quite different with each other. The similarity found is that the three of them still practicing their Chineseness although in a different way. It can be establish that it is rather different from one family to another as people react in a different way. It can also be concluded that Chinese ban might had an impact on some family and some does not. The one impact that all of the Chinese family has today is that because of the prohibition of Chinese school and Chinese language in Suharto era generates Chinese generation today are no longer can speak Chinese language. Although in Post-Suharto Era, things started to change gradually for Chinese people in Indonesia. The revolution is still happening today as the writer goes through with interviewing Gen-Z cohorts. AG, WP and FF are all openly showing their Chinese pride as they said that addressing their family in Chinese kinship terms indicate that they are Chinese.

However, as cited in Setijadi (2016), as scholars note time and time again, most Chinese – even those who do not speak Chinese themselves – hold the position that without the ability to speak Chinese, a Chinese person could never be a ‘complete’ Chinese (see Li & Xhu, 2010; Tu, 1991; Wang 1991). From this background knowledge, it can be said that even though a Chinese person in Indonesia identified either as *totok* or *peranakan* they could never be identified as a ‘complete’ Chinese though they believe they are by practicing the deviation of Chinese kinship terms. This causes ambiguity across many people in Indonesia including those who is not Chinese. The terminology Chinese-Indonesian itself holds a confusion to some people. With this study, the writer would like to propose an idea that the identification Chinese is because he or she is a Chinese

descendant hence he or she has Chinese blood and the identification of Indonesian is because he or she was born in Indonesia hence he or she speaks Indonesian and holds an Indonesian nationality. Furthermore about this topic, the reader can found out in Setijadi's paper which the writer mentions in the References. The writer only covers some as mention before to help this study for the writer's better precision.